2: Hutchinson E-4, 6 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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563 cause he is white. But the chances are heavy against the marriage of a member of Class A with a "man of color." Perhaps in the city a marriage between a white of this upper class and a mestiço of the same group would take place, but this would certainly not happen in the rural area.

563 Until the end of the last century a number of bastards were
848 produced by the white plantation owners and their sons, with
• (551) the slaves and former slaves. A large segment of the Vila Recôncavo population is made up of these individuals and their children, and in many cases they bear the name of the white's family. These people are not recognized socially by the whites. In many instances the mestiço has the family name not because he was given it, but because he took it. Frequently a white family will keep track of the descendants on the illegitimate side of the family, and help them if necessary; but they will never introduce one of these individuals as a member of the family, even when that person has all the family's physical characteristics, if he has a darker skin.

In one case, the illegitimate daughter of a union between a white man and a slave recently found herself in a position to help the legitimate daughter of her father's cousin. This girl was born free prior to abolition. The slave mother managed to educate the girl, who became a successful schoolteacher and made excellent professional connections in the world of education. Later on, when her father's cousin's legitimate daughter, widowed with three children, needed aid to educate one of her own daughters, she received such aid from her mestiço cousin.

563 Because it is so striking a feature of these color relations, it may be repeated that there is only one series in the classification and this includes everyone from white to black. Regardless of degree of color all types are part of the same broad three-class system. The categories are known to all people, not only to those who happen to be "people of color," and they are used by all in referring to others.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

165 [217] The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo listed 111 deaths for 1950, fifty-one male and sixty female. The age breakdown was as follows:

TABLE 9
NUMBER OF DEATHS BY AGE GROUPS, 1950

under 1 year	36
1 - 4	20
5 - 9	1
10-14	4
15-19	4
20-29	10
30-39	10
40-49	6
50-59	9
60-69	4
70-79	3
80-89	1
90-99	2
over 99	1
	111

165 164 It is apparent that the first five years are those in which the death rate is highest. According to the local doctor's records, the most frequent causes of these deaths are diarrhea and enteritis (seven deaths), whooping cough (seven deaths), chronic nephritis (five deaths), and acute bronchitis (four deaths). The mal de sete dias (literally, "illness of seven days," an umbilical infection in newly born infants) was the cause of only two deaths, and only one natural abortion was registered, as well as one stillbirth. According to the same doctor, many more adults die of heart trouble and kidney ailments than of anything else.

553 [214] The most popular method of naming children is by choosing from an almanac a name which strikes the fancy of the parents. In Brazil many commercial concerns publish yearly almanacs which are widely distributed. In addition to giving national holidays, saints' days, and various other kinds of calendars, they include lists of names, often of saints. While in the upper classes children are named after their parents and grandparents, lower-class families give their offspring all sorts of exotic names chosen from the almanacs, such as Estanislaus, Enoch, or Ignace. Sometimes the name is cho-

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sen because it is the name of the saint on whose day the child is born. There is also a good sprinkling of the more common names such as Antonio, João, Lourdes, and Maria. But if a child develops any peculiar characteristics, either physical or personal, he or she will be called by some descriptive term based on the peculiarity. Most people have nicknames such as Patão (Big Duck), Barco Velho (Old Boat), Cuspe Grosso (Thick Spit) or Gatinho (Little Cat), and in time their own proper name is forgotten almost entirely and used only for formal occasions such as signing records. The diminutive form of the given name is also popular, and is applied even to upper-class people, for example, Dr. Zeca (diminutive for Dr. José). In some cases a man is even known by his mother's or wife's name, for example, José de Ingracia.

In choosing godparents, there is great freedom. If possible, at least one of the godparents will be a member of the upper class, a patron who will help the child if necessary, especially if the godson when he grows up wants to go to school in the city or enter the army or navy. The other godparent may be a member of the child's family, or in some cases the midwife. In many cases the wife chooses the female godparent, especially if she suspects that her husband is paying too much attention to some other woman. In such a case she asks that woman to become the godmother; the latter can hardly refuse, as it is always considered a compliment. By becoming the godmother the woman is put effectively out of reach of the husband, as there can be no sexual relations between parents and godparents. This is a common device of women who have an unmarried sister living in the home, and it usually calls a halt to any amorous intentions on the part of either the husband or the sister. There have been cases, however, where this rule was broken. Usually the couple who break this taboo are highly censured by the rest of the community, for the wife, if she finds out, tells her friends about it. In one case which occurred in Vila Recôncavo during the author's stay, the woman was so ashamed and frightened by the sin she had committed that she killed herself by drinking rat poison.

In the rural area, while the man is usually acknowledged to be the dominant person in the family, it is the woman who dictates most of the daily actions. The children are with her most of the time, helping in the house and working with her in the garden, both girls and boys. When schools opened recently on several of the plantations, it was the mothers, not

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no child was born of the affair she went to Salvador where she found employment. There she met Vavá, whom she liked very much. She went to live with him for eleven years and had three children.

During this time, Vavá had affairs with several other women and had two other children. Finally he tired of Maria José and told her to go home to her mother, which she did, taking her three children with her. Damiana's godfather allowed her, Maria José and her children, and Tatá, another of Damiana's daughters who by then had six illegitimate children, to live rent-free in a house he owned. Childless, he took one daughter from each of the two girls to bring up in his own home.

Shortly after the three women had set up this household, Vavá tired of his new companion and wanted Maria José to come back to him, which she refused to do. From time to time he also asked her for money, as he was now unemployed. She always gave him some, since she was employed, explaining that it was not for him but for his two other children, for she could not think of their going hungry.

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In almost every case of break-up of the unmarried state, the children remain with the mother. This is also true in the case of an affair which results in a child. The father never takes on the responsibility of the children. In addition to this, as stated earlier, the children bear the mother's name and not that of the father. Often a break-up occurs because the man goes to live with another woman who does not want the children of his previous union, as she may have some of her own either by him or by someone else. On the other hand, women in Vila Recôncavo say that they would be ashamed to let the children go and be brought up by another woman, except in the case of a godparent, in whose home the treatment is expected to be at least as good as that which the mother could have given the child.

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Sometimes women in this class have affairs with men who are already married and who do not leave their wives and children. A woman seldom has more than one lover at one time, and usually stays with the same man for a long period. Although the man takes no responsibility for the resulting children, he may, nevertheless, try to help the woman sometimes; but his first allegiance is to his own wife and children.

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Unless there has been a formal marriage, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother, and the most

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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He could take his master's name.[47] Slaves who desired to change masters had the right to request transfer, and the master was expected to acquiesce.[48] Intercession in behalf of a fugitive slave, or even of one about to be punished for some other offense, is said seldom to have been in vain.[49] The master guilty of inhuman treatment toward his slave was liable to the police or tribunals.[50] Some masters preferred to have

[47] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256; cf. also Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 327: "Hence, the many Cavalcantis, Albuquerques, Mellos, Mouras, Wanderleys, Lins, Carneiro Leãos, etc., who possess none of the illustrious blood which their names imply."

[48] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 194) records that "for this purpose a note is given, declaring that the bearer has leave to enter into the service of any one, upon the price which the master demands being paid by the purchaser. With this the slave applies to any individual or property whom he may wish to serve; owing to having heard a good report of his character toward his slaves, or from any other cause. This is a frequent practice." The following interesting case was observed: "A Negro woman applied to a planter to be purchased, for which purpose she had brought a note from her master. She was accepted; and a bargain was concluded between the two persons. However, the day after she had taken up her abode upon the estate of her new master, she came to him, and falling down upon her knees, said that she had a fellow-slave who wished likewise to serve him; and she begged him to purchase her companion. The new master spoke to the owner of the slave in question of the subject; but he refused to sell him, and the matter rested in this manner. But on the third day, he received a visit from the owner, offering the slave for sale, adding, that the man had refused to work, and had threatened to hang himself; and as he was a Gabão Negro (noted for the resolute manner which, on occasion, they committed suicide), he much feared that he might put his threat into execution. The price was soon fixed, and on the following morning the man made his appearance. He proved to be a most excellent slave" (*ibid.*, p. 203 n.).

[49] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 201. Cf. also: "Costumes belissimos instituem-se entre os senhores; como o de *apadrinhar* os remissos ou fugitivos, o que impede o castigo, e nunhum senhor viola" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255).

[50] J. B. von Spix and C. F. von Martius, *Travels in Brasil, 1817–1820*, trans. H. E. Lloyd (2 vols.; London, 1824), I, 179.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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palm flat in horizontal position in contrast to a verfical placement for indicating the height of a lower animal.[10]

Although one is not likely to find any Bahian black who has not been given at baptism a "Christian name," nicknames are very common, and many individuals are much better known by them than by their given names. Among such *apelidos* one will occasionally discover terms of probable African derivation; for instance, Okê, Bábá Cumdê, Cobê, Oum, Tau-édê, and Au-weh, all nicknames of members of a local labor union; or, among personages in the fetish world, such names as: Manoelzinho de Oxóssi, Lourenço Lemba, Maria de Tempo, Senhora de Yemanjá, João de Zázé, and Flaviano Cavungo, each of which recalls the African *orixá* to which the individual in question is dedicated.

Exercising considerable prestige among a portion of the Bahian population is the *babalaô*, or *olhador*, whose primary function, it seems, is to foretell the future; the *curandeiro*, who by means of herbs, prayers, and other magical manipulations seeks both to treat and to prevent disease; and the *feiticeiro*, or "witch doctor," who, for a price, works black magic. The office of the *babalaô* is occasionally exercised by the *pae de santo*, or priest of the fetish cult, although his function is more particularly that of supervising the rituals and public ceremonies of the cult and overseeing the sacred properties. To some extent he also exercises the function of a *curandeiro*.

[10] A form of greeting recalled by older blacks but rarely used today is as follows: If the individuals are social equals, each lifts his hands, palms outward, and grasps the hands of the other in such a way that the fingers of the one are interlaced with the fingers of the other, after which the "*egun* grip" is exchanged; if not social equals, the individual of greater prestige places his right hand over the closed hands of the other.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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custom is to some extent recognized in law.[6] Usually the children take the mother's name, but occasionally the father "recognizes" and registers them, so that they legally bear his name. They are sometimes taken into the legitimate household, where they are usually accepted without serious question by the legal wife.[7]

Particularly among the lower classes, illegitimacy is not seriously prejudicial to the child. Personal qualities and individual ability largely determine his role and status; his parentage is rather naturally considered to be a matter beyond his control. A surname is not of great importance, the given name being infinitely more used, even among the upper classes. Prominent intellectual and political figures are known throughout the city by their given names. A stranger

and Portugal. Their eldest daughter is studying to be a pianist. There are three younger children. The man also supports another mulatto woman, said to be "very young and very pretty."

[6] A single extra-marital amorous experience makes a woman liable to prosecution for adultery, whereas for a man such conduct must not only be proved to be habitual but also to have involved an established relationship with a *single* individual. For a wife to have cause for legal action, she must previously have been ignorant of the extra-legal affair of her husband. Otherwise, her implied acquiescence constitutes participation in guilt.

[7] One wife said of her husband's "natural" child, "He's a fine boy. I like him as much as, or more than, my own children." In 1911 an American consul at Pará wrote: "In Amazonia the father assumes all the responsibility and legally adopts his illegitimate children who, in a majority of cases, become a part of his own family, taking an equal place in social privileges with those children within the bounds of the church regulations. . . . . There is no disposition in the higher social circles to discriminate against the number of these illegitimate aristocrats who, in the matter of education, refinement and address, are often the superior of some of those born in wedlock in the same families . . . . [and are], in many prominent cases, the acknowledged leaders of society" (J. Orton Kerbey, *An American Consul in Amazonia* [New York, 1911], p. 119).